

The Philanthropist

PUBLISHED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OHIO STATE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

CINCINNATI, TUESDAY, JANUARY 9, 1838.

THE PHILANTHROPIST,
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POETRY.

From the Herald of Freedom.

TO THE MEMORY OF REV. EDWARD P. LOVEJOY.

Who was slain at Alton (Ill.) Nov. 7, 1837, while endeavor-
ing to re-establish a FREE AFRICANIAN PRESS, which
had been twice destroyed.

'Well done!' a glorious slumber

Thine, O, martyred one,

With thy harness all unguiled,

And thy banner to the sun!

With the holy words of freedom

Burning still upon thy tongue,

And the faithful arms of WOMAN

In her love around thee flung!

'Well done!' the storm is over,

And the bolt of fire is past,

And thy spirit hath departed—

True and fearless to the last!

Thou hast sealed thy faith

To a high and holy faith,

In the red blood of baptism—

By a swift and martyr's death.

In the darkness of the midnight,

When perils and people sleep,

Who sawest lonely sentinel

Who his solemn watch-fire kept—

When the whirlwind and the earthquake

And the fire had torn and riven—

With thy mantle wrapped about thee—

And thy meek eye turned to heaven—

To thee, awake and watching,

Shone a star-beam in the sky;

And a still, small voice was uttered

Like a Spirit passing by!

Oh, a high and fearful message

Was committed unto thee—

Words of promise to the bondman

And of warning to the free—

When the foulness of the temple

Was rank and vile within,

And the altar-stones were seeking

In the portals of the shrine,

In the ear of Oppression,

When the carnival of blood

And of savage was the fiercest—

To proclaim the truth of God!

'Well done!' with prophet boldness,

In the power of the Lion,

Thou spakest as 'twas given thee,

The whole and perfect word.

Beautiful upon the mountains

Was thy way, in brightness clad,

And the hungry in the desert

At thy coming steps were glad.

'Well done!' henceforth forever

Shall thy spirit go abroad,

Free in the perfect liberty

Of the children of our God!

The mystery is ended—

Thy path has passed away in sight—

The glory of thy work is around thee

Like a firmament of light.

We mourn for thee, O brother,

Not as the mother may,

When the children of her bosom

By the sword are swept away—

Not as a nation mourneth

When her strong and mighty day,

And her banners torn and trodden

On the field of battle lie.

O we mourn as when the altar

Has cast down its holy light,

And the Angel's wings are spreading

For his departing flight.

We mourn as when the Freedom

Of a woman has been betrayed,

And at the feet of Violence

A PENALTY is laid.

And, blood besprinkled, Brother,

The Pass shall still be free!

On the fresh mound heaped above thee,

Laying brow and bosom bare,

Solemnly, in consecration,

Kneeling unto God in prayer—

In renewal of purpose,

In the strength of Love and Faith—

We will bind ourselves together

Unto triumph or to death.

The spirit of our fathers

Is in our bosom yet,

Our hearts are as unshinking,

And our nerves as firmly set.

We will speak as we have spoken,

With our words unmet still,

With the intellect forever

Free from the despot's will!

— FREE FROM THE DESPOT'S WILL!

J. H. K.

ANTI-SLAVERY.

The Seed already springing up.

DECEMBER, 20, 1837.

Dear Brother Leavitt,—It is with unfeigned

pleasure, that I send you for publication the two

following letters that I have just received—one from

the Rev. Dr. Haves—the other from the Rev. Dr.

Chapin, of Connecticut. For me to speak here of

the character of these gentlemen to you who know

them so well, or even before this community, would

be superfluous.

You and every other abolitionist, I feel assured,

will rejoice with me, that such evidences are yet

furnished, that the life, the spirit of liberty still

lives and breathes in our land. But whilst we re-

joice, that Dr. Chapin and Dr. Haves have taken

their stand publicly before this nation as the advo-

cates of freedom for those who are yet free, and of

liberty for the poor and the afflicted heathen in our

midst, how deeply have we to lament that so many

of influence are to be found amongst us, who, if they

are not warring against us, are looking on with cold-

ness and indifference! To all such, who are specu-

lators of the assaults which slavery is making on

liberty in this land—who see the attempts that are

making to incorporate oppression into Christianity

the prostration of the sacred right of petition in Con-

gress, who see, in the free States, the power of the

monster slavery employed in demolishing the press

that dares speak of its iniquities, and in murdering

those who peril and lay down their lives in its de-

fence—to all such, I would say, in the language

of a brother—are you willing to die in your present

attitude, and as a neutral in such a contest, go

to the judgment seat of Christ? I trust you are

not, and that the noble example set by a Haves and

a Chapin as a Kinsley, will excite many others

to the same good work.

Yours, &c.,

JAMES G. BIRNEY.

ROCKY HILL, Connecticut, Dec. 18th, 1837.

My Dear Sir:—Will you have the goodness to re-

ceive the name of Calvin Chapin as a member of the

American Anti-Slavery Society?

Innocent blood cries to heaven from the ground.

The martyred and much lamented Lovejoy speaks,

by the cause and manner of his death, in tones of

portentous import.

His sufferings are an outrage on liberty, whether

civil and social, or moral and religious. Until the

cause of such frantic and infuriated licentiousness

shall be effectually suppressed, who can be safe?

What friend of righteousness, and of well being,

can look, with hope, for protection in the enjoy-

ment and practice of good principles? Who con-

sequently, can indulge apathy on this subject, and be

guiltless?

Slavery, the detestation of heaven, and the abhor-

rence of the heavenly-minded on earth—Slavery,

in our republican understanding and application of

the term, is the criminal source of that sanguinary

despotism, which induces confederation, and per-

petrates murder. There is an imperious need, be-

gently and correctly—to find employment for those

who can labor—to compensate equitably the

operative for his work—and, in a word, to give

them the means of personal qualification to

possess and enjoy the civil and moral—the literary

and religious—rights of republican freedom. As

fast as they become thus qualified, bestow upon

them those rights, in full, as they are bestowed upon

white people.

Such is a mere, and quite imperfect, outline of

that immediate emancipation which I advocate—

which, I cannot doubt, is righteous—which heav-

en's law demands—which is perfectly practicable,

and which is obviously safe, both for the oppressor

and the oppressed.

Allow, if required, that, for years, the colored

portion of our great community must be a cast by

themselves, and distinct from the whites. This

can form no valid objection to the manumission here

described.

Grant, too, that to man's depraved dislike of labor

—to his guilty love of power—to his wicked

avarice—and to his licentious appetites and pas-

sions, American slavery, which is said to be the

worst that is known among nations denominated

christian, presents very strong temptations to sinful

indulgence. Be it remembered, however, that

temptation can never justify iniquity. In no case

can it render innocent either the invasion or the

withholding of rights. Every person has strength

enough to overcome and defeat temptation. Christ

requires every person to use that strength, and to

become, by it, victorious.

Temptations to wickedness appear to be tolerated,

in our work, for the purpose of showing what

every person's character and choice are—whether,

through the love of iniquity, to comply or—wheth-

er, by the power of moral principle to conquer.

The High and Holy One never places a moral

agent in a condition which compels him to sin, or

renders the avoidance of wickedness impossible.—

True emancipation demands that slaveholders be-

gin their reformation by ceasing to sin, in their

treatment of their colored neighbors, and proceed,

without delay, to do them every kind of good in

their power.

Be it, then, the object of intense pursuit by the

American Anti-Slavery Society to obtain the revo-

cution of every bad custom and law, with con-

science, to insist on the adoption of measures

in relation to colored people, which harmonize with

the perfect law of the living and true God. His

law is immutable. Like his being and his throne,

it endures forever. Never can it cease to be an

invariable rule of duty.

Nowhere does it justify, or give an example of,

such slavery as is practiced in some of these States.

In no chapter or verse does it warrant the treat-

ment of a neighbor as if he was only a beast of bur-

den—nowhere as part and parcel of a herd—a drove

of cattle—driven to the shambles, or to the scaffold

of the auctioneer, and there offered for sale to the

highest bidder. Even the pretence, therefore, that the

Bible warrants such slavery, as our departed re-

public contains, is thought to be one of the most

weak and gross absurdities which the willfully de-

ceived do ever employ to blind their mental eyes,

and seal and harden their stifled consciences. No

moral agents can ever shun their final accounta-

bility for the manner in which they regard and treat

the binding requisition of divine revelation.

With great respect, the best wishes, and ardent

prayers for your prosperity in the arduous and

work you are performing, very affectionately yours,

CALVIN CHAPIN.

HARTFORD, Dec. 7th, 1837.

To the Secretary of the American A. S. Society.

Dear Sir—It is now nearly three years since my

mind has been decidedly made up, in favor of the

great principles and aims of the American Anti-

Slavery Society. With all the sentiments held by

individual members of the Society I have not con-

curred; and the spirit and manner with which some

Meeting held at Mount Pleasant, in the year 1819. It is

worth reading.

Negroes and Slaves.

As a religious society, we have found it to be

our indispensable duty to declare to the world, our

belief of the repugnance of slavery to the Christian

religion. It therefore remains to be our continued

concern, to prohibit our members from holding in

bondage our fellow-men. And, at the present time,

we apprehend it to be incumbent on every indi-

vidual, deeply to consider his own particular share in

this testimony. The slow progress in the emancipa-

tion of this part of the human family, we lament;

but nevertheless, do not despair of their ultimate en-

largement. And we desire that Friends may not

suffer the deplorable condition of these our enslaved

fellow-beings, to lose its force upon their minds,

through the delay which the opposition of interest-

ed men, may occasion in this work of justice and

mercy; but rather be animated to consider, that the

longer the opposition remains, the greater is the ne-

cessity, on the side of righteousness and benevo-

lence, for our steady perseverance in pleading their

cause.

Let us also, amidst our sympathy for the suf-

ferers, not forget to cultivate those sensations,

which direct the mind in pity towards the deplorable

state of such men, whether in foreign countries or

our own, as promote, procure and execute, the tear-

ing away of the Africans from their native land, as

well as for those who detain them in bondage; re-

membering, that they are men, equally interested

with us, in the rewards of futurity. Believing,

therefore, as we do, that a just and dreadful retribu-

tion awaits the unrepenting and obdurate oppres-

or, at that awful tribunal, where oppressors will

not prevail to exculpate; let us seek for, and cher-

ish, that disposition of mind, which can pray for the

restoration of humanity, and fervently breathe for their

restoration to soundness of judgment, and purity

of principle.

In relation to this oppressed people, we earnestly

desire, that such of them as may be under the care

of any of our members, may be treated with kind-

ness, and as objects of the common salvation, in-

structed in the principles of the Christian religion,

as well as in such branches of school-learning as

what locality is the Great West to be placed? Will she consent to be tucked to the tail of a mighty slaveholding Confederation, or consolidated Government? Can she allow a Foreign power to control her passage through the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico?

The suggestions here hinted at should now engage the anxious consideration of Western men. If, at this moment, they may be treated as mere speculations, the time is near at hand, when they must be felt as fearful realities. We know not to what men may work themselves up. So far, there has been a great deal too much acquiescence, in slaveholding assumptions. The exaction still rises—extension has been converted into extension; extension into equality, and now there is a bold requisition for control. (If this swelling tide of demand is not here met and repelled; if it is once more permitted to rise over its constitutional and natural boundaries, its course will be as destructive as when the waters of the great deep are broken up by the winds of heaven.)

Cincinnati Gazette.

Governor of Indiana. In his recent Message, the Governor of Indiana says:—

In compliance with the request of his Excellency the Governor of Kentucky, I lay before the Legislature a communication enclosing a preamble and joint resolution, of the Legislature of that State, requesting the protection of our laws against the concealment of the slaves of her citizens, when they escape, and as they pass along the Ohio River, in the possession of their masters.

Upon all questions connected with the institution of slavery, the citizens of this State have been exempt from excitement. Ever mindful of the duties which devolved on her as a member of the great family of American States, united under a common government, and bound together by past recollections, by an identity of origin and a community of general interests, the State of Indiana has religiously abstained in her principles and policy from every act that could be construed into a disposition to tamper with or disregard the domestic institutions of her sister States. By a reference to our laws on the subject, it will be seen that they have been shaped with a view to protect the interests and rights of the citizens of those States where slavery has been established, and to furnish all just facilities for the reclamation of that species of property. By the act of 1824, provision was made for an arrest and hearing, in a most summary manner; our judicial tribunals are ever ready to enforce the law, and a full measure of damages is awarded to the aggrieved individual. Our laws relating to crime and punishment impose a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars, on any one who shall knowingly employ a slave, conceal him, encourage his escape, give him a certificate of emancipation, or a pass, or who shall obstruct his arrest, when claimed by the owner. The claimant is moreover entitled to his action for damages of five hundred dollars against the offending individual.

With the ample provisions already made, I confess my inability to point out other or more efficient means of redress. It is due, however, to Kentucky, to consider the subject, and to exercise that sound discretion which the occasion demands. And when you have deliberated, it will be due to that State, to reply in that feeling of amity, kindness and fraternal regard, evinced in the communication submitted to you.

Contact of the Ohio Delegates.

The Ohio Political Register, commenting on Mr. Patton's resolution &c., remarks:

We dismiss this subject, with the single remark, that our delegation in Congress may rest assured that their vote upon the resolution of Mr. Patton, will meet the strong and positive approbation of their constituents. The People of Ohio are not abolitionists—but they are free-men; and when they petition the Congress of the Nation, they demand that more respect shall be paid to their wishes, than the simple reception of their memorial, "to be laid upon the table, without being read, printed, read, or referred," or in any manner whatever, considered. They do not believe that a petition is received until it is considered.

Yeas and Nays.

The following are the Yeas and Nays on Mr. Patton's resolution, together with a few comments by the Editor of the Cincinnati Chronicle:

YEAS.—Messrs. Anderson, Andrews, Althorn; Beatty, Bane, Bicknell, Birdall, Boon, Bouldin, Brodhead, Bryant, Buchanan, John Calhoun, Campbell, Wm. B. Campbell, John Campbell, Timothy J. Carter, Wm. B. Carter, Casey, Chapman, Chatham, Craig, Claiborne, Cleveland, Clowry, Coles, Coile, Crockett, Cushman, Deberry, DeGraff, Dennis, Drougou, Edwards, Farrington, Fairfield, Fry, J. Garland, J. Graham, Grantland, Graves, Hammond, Harlan, Harshman, Hayes, Hawkins, Haynes, Holey, Holt, Hopkins, Howard, Hubley, William H. Hunter, J. Jackson, Jos. Johnson, Wm. C. Johnson, J. W. Jones, Kemble, Kingensmith, Lawler, Legare, Logan, Loomis, Lyon, Mallory, James M. Mason, Martin, Maury, May, Mc Kay, Robert Mc Clellan, Abraham Mc Clellan, Mc Clure, M. Kim, Mercer, Miller, Montgomery, Moore, Morgan, S. W. Morris, Mulhengen, Murray, Noble, Palmer, Parker, Patton, Penneybacker, Petrik, Phelps, Pope, Pratt, Prentiss, Reilly, Rencher, Robertson, A. H. Sheppard, C. Sheppard, Shields, Snyder, Southgate, Spencer, Stanley, Stewart, Stone, Talaferro, Taylor, Thompson, Titus, Turney, Underwood, Vail, Wagner, Weeks, John White, Thomas T. White, Lewis Williams, Sherrod, Williams, Jared W. Williams, Joseph L. Williams, Christopher H. Williams, Yell—122.

NAYS.—Messrs. Alexander, H. Allen, John V. Allen, Bidwell, Bond, Borden, Briggs, Brown, Wm. B. Calhoun, Chaney, Coffin, Cronin, Curran, Curtis, Evans, Farthing, Davis, Duncan, Dunn, Egan, Everett, Foster, Goodell, Fletcher, Isaac Fletcher, Elmer, Foster, Goodell, William Graham, Grennell, Haley, Hall, Hamer, Hastings, Henry, Herod, Hoffman, Ingham, Kilgore, Leach, Lincoln, Lincoln, Marvin, Samson, Mason, Maxwell, Me. Kennan, Milligan, Mathias Morris, Calvary Morris, Naylor, Noyes, Ogle, Parmenter, Patterson, Peck, Phillips, Potts, Porter, Radford, Randolph, Reed, Ridgway, Russell, Sheffer, Shepley, Sibley, Slade, Smith, Stratton, Tillinghast, Tolland, Toucey, Webster, Albert S. White, Elizabeth Whittlesey, York—74.

It will be remarked, before we proceed further, that the entire delegations of Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware, Ohio and Indiana, with the exception of Mr. Boon of Indiana, and Mr. Hunter of Ohio, and three or four abolitionists, voted in the negative on this question, and also in a similar vote taken in the Senate on a motion of Mr. Clay's, to refer the petitions to the committee on the District of Columbia, all the Senators from these States except Mr. Bayard of Delaware, voted in the same way. It will also be remarked, that above a year since, the majority of the Southern delegation in Congress, voted against receiving petitions. They now vote in favor of it.

We note these historical facts, that our readers may be kept informed upon the progress of a question, which of all is the most agitating to the public mind, and seems to exhibit the least chance of success. We are of those who believe that the most perfect freedom, as well as the most absolute liberty of opinion is necessary to the success of a republican government. There can be no use in smothering concealed flames, which only burst out

with the more violence when an opportunity occurs.

It is asked, if a portion of members of Congress should withdraw, what will happen? Does the Government cease its operations? Certainly not. Upon this subject there is a very general error. The Constitution of the United States was constructed expressly to avoid a dependence upon the States, and it has avoided it in all particulars where a State, or a minority of States only are concerned. No State, or minority of States can prevent its operation, even upon their own inhabitants.

1. In the first place a majority of either house of Congress make a quorum, and have full power to compel the attendance of their own members. They could therefore compel the attendance of their own members if they chose; but this would not remedy an evil which originates with the people at home. We must look, then, to other consequences.

2. The Constitution, and the laws made in pursuance thereof, are binding upon individuals wherever they are, and consequently no secession of a delegation in Congress absolves the people of these States from their obligation to obey the laws of the United States. If they violate them, they will be in the same condition as the people of those States represented—subject to punishment in proportion to the offence.

3. If the delegations of a minority of States retire from Congress, they only give up a privilege in making laws. They do not prevent the majority from going on with the government. A majority makes a quorum—a majority makes laws—and a majority can enforce them.

This view of the subject, shows that there can be no secession or nullification of any kind made by a State which might not have been made by individuals, and which in plain English amounts to rebellion. We suppose that no such secession will ever be made; for the men who threaten it now, are those who are most aware of the gloomy consequences to themselves. With Mr. Clay, we should like to see Congress adopt a bill, making it out of order for any member to name disunion. The legal strength of the American Constitution is a greater protection to every member of the Union, than any degree of physical strength can ever become.

Progress of the Change.

The change wrought in the Senate since the last session, is truly gratifying. The correspondent of the United States Gazette alludes to the proceedings of the 18th inst. as follows:—

"A very remarkable and somewhat excited debate took place, to-day, in the Senate, on the abolition topic. The debate was continued more than four hours; and was participated in by the most able men in the Senate. The result was less satisfactory than could be wished to an anti-slaveryist, for the vote in favor of laying the subject on the table, stood twenty-five to twenty, instead of thirty-five to ten, as heretofore. The question arose upon a memorial for the abolition of slavery in the District, by Mr. Wall. Mr. Clay took occasion to make the inquiry of that Senator whether these petitions were urged for the purpose of expressing the opposition of the petitioners to the mode in which such petitions had been treated by Congress, or whether their object was solely what the face of the petitions expressed. Mr. Clay also took occasion to remark that the best way of treating a subject which had so deeply agitated the country, was with calmness and reason, and therefore he was in favor of referring all these petitions, and giving them a respectful consideration. Mr. Calhoun, who took his seat this morning, went off like a rocket. He denounced the objects of the abolitionists, and declared that this was a subject, and the only one which made him tremble for the Union. He strongly urged the propriety of shutting the doors of Congress to all such petitions."

The motion to refer the memorial was finally laid on the table. Mr. Clay voting in the negative by a vote of 25 to 20. Many of the southern men already cry out, as I expected they would, that Mr. Clay has gone over to the abolitionists, and seeks the aid of that excitement to lift him into the presidency. The presidency is beginning to appear a subordinate matter to some other things. Principles will be more regarded than names in the next contest."

From the Louisville City Gazette.

STRANGE PROCEEDINGS OF A PORTION OF THE SOUTHERN MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.—We had prepared an abstract of the proceedings in the House of Representatives on the 20th, copied from the National Intelligencer of the 21st, but the very comprehensive letter of the correspondent of the Baltimore Patriot, is so much more explicit than any abstract we could make, that we prefer copying it entire. It also contains later intelligence than any we had received—the result of the meeting of the Southern members.

We are compelled to limit our editorial remarks, to-day, but we cannot allow this subject to pass without expressing our disapprobation of the course of conduct of the Southern members.—The citizens of the United States, have a right to petition—they have an inalienable right to be heard by petition or remonstrance, let the subject be what it may. And however the Southern members may dislike to hear the evils of slavery, they are bound to hear them. They are bound to hear them, and know that petition after petition, to make the "ten miles square" a free District is ready to be presented, they must bear it, and it will be a sacrifice of the principles which produced the Revolution, and wrought our independence, to give way to their immediate demand that all petitions on the subject of slavery, be laid on the table unheard. We trust that the representatives who voted for the abridgement of American liberty, may never again be returned to the National Legislature, but may receive merited obprobrium.

If abolitionists and fanatics will press the subject on Congress, let the petitions and memorials be referred to appropriate committees, who will either report upon their propriety, or suffer them to die a natural death, as many do every session, if they so deserve to die. We must confess that we prefer that the seal of disapprobation should be set on these memorials, by way of report. It will go farther to settle the perplexing subject, than the wayward and factious opposition made by the Southern representatives. The whole subject of slavery and emancipation was discussed a very few years since in the Virginia Legislature—we see no great harm it can do the south, or what tendency it has to affect the injury of that portion of the Union, should congress determine that the petitions, should be heard, and the subject fully reported.

Mr. Adams and Texas.

In the debate on the Texas memorial in the House, pending the motion of Mr. Howard to refer them to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Mr. Adams proceeded to say:—

"That one great objection to the proposed reference was, that six out of nine upon the committee were slaveholders, and were therefore, not a proper committee for such a reference. They were in interest committed in favor of that against which these memorials remonstrated. He would say with all respect to the two gentlemen from South Carolina, the most deeply slaveholding States in the Union) who have just taken their seats, that whether the discussion arise now, or hereafter, it was immaterial to him as to who it was, it must come! And though it might for the present be smothered by previous questions, motions to lay it upon the table, and all the other means and arguments by

which the institutions of slavery are wont to be sustained on that floor—the same means and arguments, in spirit, which in another place have produced murder and arson. Yes, sir, continued Mr. Adams, the same spirit which led to the inhuman murder of Liberty at Alton."

The Chair here interposed, and remarked that the gentleman from Massachusetts was straying widely from the question of reference, which was immediately under consideration.

Mr. Adams proceeded. He said that, as there appeared to be an indisposition on the part of a portion of the House, to hear him further upon this topic, at this time, he would abridge his remarks and hasten to a close. What he had said was intended to enforce the objections which he had stated against the proposed reference of the memorials from Massachusetts to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, first, that the subject matter of those memorials was not appropriately referable to that committee; and secondly, that that committee was not, in itself, a properly constituted committee for such a reference, inasmuch as six out of nine of the members composing it were already committed, by feeling and position, adversely to the object and prayer of the petitioners. He had allowed himself, while urging these objections, to make some remarks upon the spirit manifested in this matter by gentlemen similarly committed, and by those sections of country to which they belong; and thence to argue against the propriety of the reference proposed by the member from Maryland. Nor was this objection, he contended, at all inconsistent with that respect which he entertained toward the gentlemen composing that committee, in every other point of view.

Mr. Adams urged still further objection to the proposed reference, derived from the change which, since the special session of Congress, it had been thought proper to make in the committee on foreign affairs—a change, the contemplation of which impressed him still more deeply with the belief that that committee was decidedly adverse to the prayer of these memorialists. Three new members had been placed upon that committee; and, as if to make it still more emphatically a slaveholding committee, a gentleman from Virginia had been taken from the chair of another important committee, and placed upon this. For what, he would ask, was this alteration made? Whatever the motives, he must say it was, to his mind, an additional reason why, as one of the representatives of the people of Massachusetts, he should not consent that their interests, as freemen, should be confided to it. Upon that committee, besides the fact that six out of nine were slaveholding members, he observed the same proportion of friends to the administration had been placed. Perhaps not the identical six before alluded to, but yet members ever ready to support the administration in every and every measure, be it what it may—consistent with their sense of duty. Now, said Mr. Adams it may be urged, as indeed, it has been, repeatedly, that the President of the United States was against the annexation of Texas; and that is a bare calumny to say that any prejudice in favor of this measure had existed at the White House! He had seen such things in the public prints, and lately in the official paper in this city.

The Chair reminded the gentleman from Massachusetts, that he was straying from the subject immediately under the consideration of the House.

Mr. Adams would come back, and keep as nearly to the subject as he could. This he might be permitted to say, that he and his colleagues had seen, in reading the late message of the Executive, how much was not in that document, as well as how much was in it. History, sir, tells us of the funeral of a sister of one of the Roman emperors, which took place at the time when Rome was steeped in slavery, at which the statues of Brutus and Cassius were not seen among the splendid array of statues of friends and relatives, which it was the custom to bear in the funeral processions of the great. And the historian remarks that the absence of these two friends was more noticed by the people who witnessed the display, than the whole train which was present; and that the spectators of the scene, instead of admiring the magnificence of their tyrants, were thinking only of the absent statues of Brutus and Cassius, the friends and advocates of freedom. Sir, I could not recall this historic incident as inavertedly applicable, when I see in the late message of the Executive, so much allusion to the grievances of this government at the hands of Mexico, and literally not a single allusion to our relations with Texas.

Mr. Calhoun's Resolutions.

Thursday, Dec. 28.

Mr. Calhoun's resolutions in reference to Abolition petitions, came up before the Senate to-day, and gave rise to a very animated discussion, which, strange to say, was wholly confined to Senators from the South, one of whom (his colleague, Mr. Preston) most earnestly opposed the design of the resolutions. After they were read, Mr. Calhoun observed that if no Senator wished to discuss them, he would move to postpone them till next Wednesday. Mr. Preston then rose and expressed his firm assurance of the perfect utility of the resolutions, with the spirit of which, however, he fully concurred. He acknowledged the truth and justice of them, as they were entirely his own, but then they were abstractions, and these he considered as useless, to those who intended to operate upon the suppression of all agitation upon the subject of Slavery. While further speaking on the object of the resolutions, Mr. Preston, in very energetic language, dwelt upon the firm determination of the South to devise measures for the security of her interests from aggression, should Congress thrust aimed at Mr. Calhoun himself, as for instance, when recurring to the utility of reiterating the abstractions, contained in the resolutions, which might never be reduced to practice, he declared that his own experience in that body, had shown him many instances of individuals practically refuting the abstract principles, loudly proclaimed by their own lips.

This remark, which, of course I do not pretend to say was canvassed in the same words used by Mr. Preston, all understood to be levelled at Mr. Calhoun, who in his rejoinder supported his resolution in an ingenious and elaborate manner, throwing in now and then some severe allusions to a Whig party.—There was one observation, which has excited a good deal of notice, and which will, if I mistake not, be touched upon when the subject is brought up again next Wednesday. The remark I allude to, intimated that this spirit of Abolition had been awakened in some degree by principles opposite to those cherished by the State Rights party.

Mr. Strange, of North Carolina, was opposed to resolutions in any way referring to Slavery being brought forward before Congress. He thought that the Senate should sit still, and do nothing, on this subject. After a reply from Mr. Calhoun, the motion to postpone the subject till Wednesday prevailed. On that day we may expect an exciting debate. Mr. Clay, of Kentucky, is said to be whetting his weapons, and Webster is anxiously expected by the Northern Senators, as the great expounder of the Constitution in such cases. An expounder of the Constitution has been postponed, solely on account of Mr. Webster's sickness in Philadelphia.

The House was employed all day on Mr. Adams' memorial from the Pease Society—which is at length referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs by a vote of 117 to 57. After the vote was taken Mr. Adams wished to have the memorial printed, but leave to make a motion to that effect was refused.

Responsibility for Mobs.

If our Legislature have still before them, in the House of Representatives, the bill heretofore noticed, subjecting cities and towns to pay the damages occasioned by mobs, it may be well for the members to look out for such expression of public opinion concerning it as may be transiently made. The Baltimore Chronicle thus quotes with approbation the remarks of the Cincinnati Gazette.

IDENTITY.

A Bill has been introduced into the Legislature of Ohio, by Mr. Foote, of a special committee, subjecting towns and cities to the payment of all damages individuals may sustain by mobs within their precincts.

The Cincinnati Gazette, in reference to this Bill observes that it should fairly have a mob for the destruction of property in a town or city, if every property holder knew that he would have to contribute, according to his means to pay for the property a mob might destroy. It is very common to charge mob outrages upon violent and uninformed men. But all experience demonstrates that mob violence is set on foot nine times out of ten, by men who keep out of sight, or fancy themselves acting safe from legal responsibility. Lord George Gordon behind the scene.—Make all such sensible that the costs of their left handed mischief may be visited upon their own pockets, and their right hands will be strong to suppress all mob violence—not only strong, but effectual.—Mobs will never be allowed to set houses on fire, where the property consumed must be paid for, by themselves and by the citizens who, first if not last, countenanced the destruction."

Revolutions of Mr. Morris.

Recently submitted in the Senate.

Resolved.—That in the formation of the Federal Constitution, the states acted in their sovereign capacity; but the adoption of the same was, by the people of the several states, by their agents specially elected for that purpose, and the people of the several states, by their own free and voluntary assent, entered into the compact of union proposed in the constitution, with the view to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity; and that the means of attaining all these important objects are fully provided for in the grants of power contained in the constitution itself.

Resolved.—That the people of the several states, in delegating a portion of their power to the Federal Government, which they had formerly exercised by their own legislatures, severally retained the exclusive and sole right over their own domestic institutions, which they had not, by the constitution, granted to the Federal Government, and they reserved to individuals, and to the states in their sovereign capacity, the full liberty of speech and the press, to discuss the domestic institutions of any of the states, whether political, moral, or religious; and that it would be the exercise of unauthorised power on the part of the government, or that of any of the states, to attempt to restrain the same; and that any endeavor to do so would be insulting to the people and states so interested, and that each state alone has the power to punish individuals for the abuse of this liberty within their own jurisdiction; and whenever one state shall attempt to make criminal, acts done by citizens in another state, which are lawful in the state where done, the necessary consequence would be to weaken the bonds of our Union.

Resolved.—That this government was adopted by the people of the several states of this Union as a common agent, to carry into effect the powers which they had delegated by the constitution; and in fulfillment of this high and sacred trust, the government is bound to exercise its functions so as not to interfere with the reserved rights of states over their own domestic institutions; and it is the duty of this government to refrain from any attempt, however remote, to operate on the liberty of speech and the press, as secured to the citizens of each state by the constitution and laws thereof. That the United States are bound to secure to each state a republican form of government, and to protect each of them against invasion or domestic violence, and for no other purpose can Congress interfere with the internal policy of a state.

Resolved.—That domestic slavery, as it exists in the United States, is a moral and social evil, and that its existence at the time of the adoption of the constitution, is not recognized by that instrument as an essential element in the exercise of its powers over the several states, and no change of feeling on the part of any of the states can justify them in their efforts to restrict the rights of the people of the several states, in their open and systematic attacks on the right of petition, the freedom of speech, or the liberty of the press, with a view to silence either, on any subject whatever; and that all such attacks are manifest violations of the mutual and solemn pledge to protect and secure to each other, and to maintain the rights of the people of the several states, in their open and systematic attacks on the right of petition, the freedom of speech, or the liberty of the press, with a view to silence either, on any subject whatever; and that all such attacks are manifest violations of the mutual and solemn pledge to protect and secure to each other, and to maintain the rights of the people of the several states, in their open and systematic attacks on the right of petition, the freedom of speech, or the liberty of the press, with a view to silence either, on any subject whatever; 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defeat the claims of justice, those owners of slaves and official persons all began as judges to determine the merits of a system in which they are themselves deeply involved and personally interested.

Oo the motion of John Turner, Esq., seconded by Richard T. Cadbury, Esq., resolved—

VII.—That in this disastrous state of things it is expedient to assemble in London a body of Delegates, pledged to the principles developed in the Memorial of 1833, concluding with these words, "We feel bound publicly and emphatically to declare, that while Slavery obtains under any form, however modified, or however sanctioned, we will never relax from our efforts, nor avert from our purpose, to exert that influence which we may collectively or individually possess, to effect by all legitimate means its immediate and entire abolition." That the object of these Delegates be to take such measures as, under the Divine blessing, shall secure entire freedom to the Negro population in 1838; [several other resolutions were passed.]

On the motion of the Rev. T. M. M. Donnell, seconded by Robert Boyle, Esq. of Smithwick.

VIII. That the Rev. Wm. Marsh, M.A., the Rev. John Angell James, the Rev. Thos. Morgan, Captain Moorosiom, R. N. and Joseph Sturge, Esq. be appointed for the above purpose, as Delegates from the Birmingham Anti-Slavery Society, at the time of assembling being proposed to be the fourteenth of November, at Exeter Hall, at Ten o'clock; and that the Secretaries of the Birmingham Anti-Slavery Society be authorized at their discretion, for promoting the attendance of Delegates from other parts of the United Kingdom.

On the motion of Wm. Wilson, Esq. of Nottingham, seconded by the Rev. Wm. Rogers, of Dudley.

IX.—That Birmingham be a central point for communication for the counties of Warwick, Worcester, Salop, Stafford, Derby, Nottingham, Leicester, Northampton and Oxford, for the purpose of promoting public meetings, petitions to Parliament, and any other steps which the Delegates, when assembled in London, may recommend.

On the motion of G. C. Middleton, Esq. of Derby, seconded by J. Edmonds, Esq.

X. That the proceedings of this day be published in such way as the Secretaries of the Birmingham Anti-Slavery Society may think proper.

J. E. Eardly Wilmot.

Mr. Scholefield having taken the Chair, Resolved unanimously

On the motion of Joseph Sturge, Esq. seconded by John Turner.

To read and send Thanks of this Meeting presented to Sir Eardly Wilmot, for his conduct in the Chair this day, and for his constant, zealous, and consistent support of the Anti-Slavery cause.

JOSHUA SCHOLEFIELD.

MILES' TOMATO MEDICINE.

The unparalleled success, which has attended the administration of this medicine, induces its friends to believe that the cause of humanity throughout the whole world is rapidly made known in all parts of this Continent. The proprietors judge from letters daily received from physicians and the most intelligent citizens of various sections of our country, that no article made known in the annals of medicine, can produce so great benefits, as this medicine, adapted perfectly the assertions of its advocates, and so rapidly gained popular favor.

The proprietors, on its introduction, took special pains to place it in the hands of the most intelligent and respectable classes of community, and were guarded and cautious in their recommendations of its medical virtues. They are now enabled, on perfect grounds, to assert that cannot be ascribed to any other single medicine.

It is no new theory, that a large proportion of the diseases of America, and especially of the West and South, arise from bilious derangement of the digestive organs. But if we succeed in curing these diseases, we remove the cause and restore a healthy action of the biliary organs. The Tomato medicine is certain to produce this effect, when taken in proper season. Hence its superior efficacy and great success in bilious fevers, liver affections, dyspepsia, flatulence of the stomach, &c. It is equally efficacious in cases where taken in connection with the "*Triturata*," it is an almost certain cure in affections of the lungs.

The company have hitherto declined publishing certificates of cures, and will continue to do so, unless compelled to do so by the necessity of doing so in some country. But, if any are sceptical in relation to the power and efficacy of this medicine, they can, by calling on the subscriber or any of the Company's agents, have their doubts removed.

"Those who are laboring under diseases that cannot be cured by medicine, may give up their hope of recovery, and be discouraged and disgusted with medicine, those who have seen and felt the detestable effects of calomel and mercurial nostrums, and those too, who esteem calomel to be the best of all medicines, are all advised to try this medicine."

Sufferings cannot be produced by its use, and the fear of taking "drugs," while under its influence, is probably less than while using any other medicine.

Theology of the proprietors is to make it a permanent and valuable family medicine—one that may be safely submitted to, clear of all noxiousness and mercurial preparations.

Not infrequently, those who are travelling suffer much from change of climate, food and drink. To such, this will be found a valuable acquisition.

Persons desiring to know more of this medicine, may apply to the subscribers, as soon as practicable. Persons wishing to become agents, will apply personally or by the recommendation of our friends, to

A. MILES,
Apocathecaries Hall, Cincinnati.

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE

ANTI-SLAVERY WORKS.

For sale at the Anti-Slavery Dispensary, Cincinnati.

"SLAVES' FRIEND," Vol. I. £36 pp. small 16 mo.
The first twelve numbers of the *Slaves' Friend*, published together. These little books are of extraordinary value, as Moral, political denunciations, ecclesiastical apologetics, true messages, and commercial interests, are powerful to prevent them from falling upon the minds and hearts of children, with unimpaired force. They contain a great variety of anecdotes, dialogues, &c. contain the story of Mary Fretwell and Susan Easton; which children always read with intense interest, and which they will find it hard ever to divide from their minds. It has 39 pictures.

"SLAVES' FRIEND," VOL. II. 940 pp. small 16 mo.
This volume, besides its great variety of short, exceedingly interesting articles, contains an account of the formation of a Juvenile Anti-Slavery Society, with their Constitution, &c. The story of the Travelling Fireman, Little Mary, Jack the Peasantry, Little Harriet, &c. render this volume very attractive.

It has 28 superior engravings. There will be a volume published every year.

"ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD," VOL. I. 174 pp. 12 mo. cloth 3s.
This is a history of the monthly Records, for 1835. It is full of well authenticated facts and cogent arguments. With fine engravings. The story of the Genesee Planter, the statistical and other facts from the West Indies, give it a great value.

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This volume, besides the large number of accounts of American slavery, illustrations of the humanity of Africa Americans, and very valuable articles on morals, has one number devoted to extracts from official papers from the United States, containing a series of very interesting answers to the following questions: "Would they take care of themselves?" "How can it be done?" "Does the Bible sanction slavery?" "The story of the Runaway, the History of the slave James, the Fact with a short Commentary, are worth reading more than twice the price of the book. The third volume will be published in the near future.

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POETRY

The Bundle of Hay, by Wm. E. Channing. The weary Year, that for the first time, Has wander'd joyless over hill and dale, With cold and chill, and through the dreary woods, Telling the dry leaves, that strew the path, A weary Year, is bending his last hour.

MISCELLANEOUS

From the Liberator. A LETTER TO ABOLITIONISTS.

Boston, Dec. 14, 1837.

MY FRIENDS: A recent event induces me to address to you a few remarks. I trust you will not ascribe them to a love of dictation, and especially that you will not think me capable of uttering a word of censure, in deference to the prejudices and passions of your opposers. My sympathies are with the oppressed and persecuted. I have labored, in a darker day than this, to vindicate your rights; and nothing would tempt me at this moment to speak a disparaging word, if I thought I should give the slightest countenance to the violence under which you have suffered. I have spoken of the slight service which I have rendered, not as a claim for gratitude; for I only performed a plain duty; but as giving me a right to a candid construction of what I am now to offer.

You well know, that I have not been satisfied with all your modes of operation. I have particularly made objections to the organization and union of numerous and wide-spread societies for the subversion of slavery. I have believed, however, that many of the dangerous tendencies of such an association would be obviated by your adoption of what is called the "peace principle"; in other words, by your unwillingness to use physical force for self-defense. To this feature of your society, I have looked as a pledge, that your zeal, even if it should prove excessive, would not work much harm. You can judge, then, of the sorrow with which I heard of the tragedy of Allen, where one of your respected brethren fell with arms in his hands. I felt, indeed, that his course was justified by the laws of his country, and by the established opinions and practice of the civilized world. I felt, too, that the violence, under which he fell, regarded as an assault on the press and our dearest rights, deserved the same reprobation from the friends of free institutions, as if he had fallen an unresisting victim. But I felt that a cloud had gathered over your society, and that a dangerous precedent had been given in the cause of humanity. So strong was this impression, that whilst this event found its way into other pulpits, I was unwilling to make it the topic of a religious discourse, but preferred to express my reprobation of it in another place, where it would be viewed only in its bearings on civil and political rights. My hope was, that the members of your society, whilst they would do honor to the fearless spirit of your fallen brother, would still, with one loud voice, proclaim their disapprobation of his last act, and their sorrow that through him a cause of philanthropy had been stained with blood. In this I am sorry to say that I have been disappointed. I have seen, indeed, no justification of the act. I have seen a few disapproving sentences, but no such clear and general testimony against this error of the lamented Lovejoy, as is needed to give assurance against its repetition. I have missed the true tone in the "Emancipator," the organ of your National Society. I account for this silence, by your strong sympathy with your slaughtered friend, and by your feeling as if one, who had so generously given himself to the cause, deserved nothing but praise. Allow me to say, that here you err. The individual is nothing, in comparison with the truth. Bring out the truth, suffer who may. The fact, that a good man has fallen through a mistaken conception of duty, makes it more necessary to expose the error. Death, courageously met in a good cause by a respected friend, may throw a false luster over dangerous principles which were joined with his virtues. Besides, we do not dishonor a friend in acknowledging him to have erred. The best men are sometimes misled, by the very fervor which made them great, into rash courses. I regret, then, that your disapprobation of Mr. Lovejoy's resistance to force has not been as earnest, as your grateful acknowledgment of his self-sacrifice to a holy cause.

By these remarks, I do not mean, that I have adopted the "peace principle" to the full extent of my late venerated friend, Dr. Worcester, whose spirit were he living, would be bowed down by the story of Allen. I do not say, that a man may in no case defend himself by force. But, it may be said down as a rule; hardly admitting an exception, that an enterprise of Christian philanthropy is not to be carried on by force; that it is time for philanthropy to stop, when it can only advance by wading through blood. If God does not allow us to forward a work of love without fighting for it, the presumption is exceedingly strong, that it is not the work, which he has given us to do. It is asked, how such a cause, if assailed, is to be advanced? I answer, by appeals to the laws, and by appeals to the moral sentiment and the moral sympathies of the community. I answer, by resolute patience and heroic suffering. If patience and suffering, if truth and love will not touch a community, certainly violence will avail nothing. What! shall men, whose starting point is the love of every human being, hope to make their way by slaughter? Shall a cause, which relies on the inculcation of the disinterested spirit of Christianity as its main instrument, seek aid in deadly weapons? Are we not shocked by this inconsistency of means and ends? What fellowship has moral means with brute force? What concord between the report of the rifle and the teachings of philanthropy?

Let not this language be understood as in any wise extenuating the guilt of Mr. Lovejoy's murderers. They stand on the same ground as if they had slain an unresisting man. Their crime drew him to arms. Because his cause was so philanthropic and holy to allow him to fight for it, was no excuse.

I have more than once, as you well know, lamented the disposition of some, perhaps many of your members, to adopt violent forms of speech, in reply to this complaint. It has been said that the people, to be awakened, must be spoken to with strength; that soft whispering will not break their lethargy; that whippers but thunder can ward a community, steeped in selfish uncon-

cern; to the wrongs of their neighbor. What can be done, it is asked, without strong language? I grant that great moral convictions ought to be given out with energy, and that the zeal which exaggerates them may be forgiven. But exaggerations in regard to persons, are not to be so readily forgiven. We may use an hyperbole in stating a truth. We must not be hyperbolic in setting forth the wrong-doing of our neighbor. As an example of the unjust practice which I blame, it may be stated, that some among you have been accustomed to denounce slaveholders as "robbers and man-stealers." Now, robbery and stealing are words of plain signification. They imply that a man takes consciously, and with knowledge, what belongs to another. To steal, is to seize privately, to rob, is to seize by force the acknowledged property of one's neighbor. Now, is the slaveholder to be charged with these crimes? Does he know that the slave he holds is not his own? On the contrary, is there any part of his property to which he thinks himself to have laid, for it was wrong in the love of the people. It was recognized, as the prevailing life, the servative power of our institutions. A voice raised against it would have been pronounced moral treason. We clung to it as an immutable principle—a universal and inalienable right. We received it as an intuitive truth, as no more to be questioned than a law of nature. But "the times are changed, and we change with them." Are there no signs—is there nothing to make us fear that the freedom of speech and the press, regarded as a right and a principle, is dying out of the hearts of this people? It is not a sufficient answer to say, that the vast majority speak and publish their thoughts without danger. The question is, whether this freedom is distinctly and practically recognized as every man's right. Unless it stands on this ground, it is little more than a name—it has no permanent life. To refuse it to a minority, however small, is to loosen every man's hold of it—to violate its sacredness—to break up its foundation. A despotism, too strong for fear, may, through its very strength, allow to the mass great liberty of utterance; but, in conceding it as a privilege, and not as a right, and by withholding it at pleasure from offensive individuals, the despot betrays himself as truly as if he had put a seal on every man's lips. That state must not call itself free in which any party, however small, cannot safely speak their minds—in which any party are exposed to violence for the exercise of an universal right,—in which the laws, made to protect all, cannot be sustained against brute force. The freedom of speech and the press seems now to be sharing the lot of all great principles, history shows us, that all great principles, however ardently espoused for a time, have a tendency to fade into traditions, to degenerate into a hollow cant, to become words of little import, and to remain for declamation when their vital power is gone. At such a period, every good citizen is called to do what in him lies to restore their life and power. To some it may be a disheartening thought that the battle of liberty is never to end,—that its first principles must be established anew, on the very spots where they seemed immovably fixed. But it is the law of our being that no true good can be made sure without struggle; and it should cheer us to think, that to struggle for the right is the noblest use of our powers, and the only means of happiness and perfection.

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Another ground of my strong interest in your body is, that you are pledged to another principle, far broader than the freedom of the press, and on which this and all other rights repose. You start from the sublime truth. You oppose slavery, not from political or worldly considerations. You take your stand on the unutterable word of every human being, and on his inalienable rights as a rational, moral, and immortal child of God. Here is your strength. Unlike the political parties which agitate the country, you have a principle, and the grandest which can unite a body of men. That you fully comprehend it, or are always faithful to it, cannot be affirmed; but you have it, and it is cause of joy to see men seizing it even in an imperfect form. All slavery, all oppressive institutions, all social abuses, spring from or involve contempt of human nature. The tyrant does not know what it is to whom he tramples in the dust. You have caught a glimpse of the truth. The appreciable word of every human being, and the derivation of his rights, not from paper constitutions and human laws, but from his spiritual and immortal nature, from his affinity with God, these are the truths which are to renovate society, by the light of which our present civilization will one day be seen to bear many an impress of barbarism, and by the power of which a real brotherhood will more and more unite the now divided and struggling family of man. My great interest in you lies in your assertion of these truths. The liberation of three millions of slaves is indeed a noble object; but a greater work is the diffusion of principles, by which every yoke is to be broken, every government to be reorganized, and a liberty, more precious than civil or political, is to be secured to the world. I know with what indifference the doctrine of the infinite worth of every human being, be his rank or color what may, is listened to by multitudes. But it is not less true, because men of narrow and earthly minds cannot comprehend it. It is written in blood on the cross of Christ. He taught it when he ascended and carried our nature to heaven. It is confirmed by all the acquisitions of philosophy into the soul,—by the progress of the human intellect,—by the affections of the human heart,—by man's intercourse with God, by his sacrifices for his fellow-creatures. I am not discouraged by the fact, that this great truth has been espoused most earnestly by a party which numbers in its ranks few great names. The prosperous and distinguished of this world, given as they generally are to epicurean self-indulgence and to vain show, are among the last to comprehend the worth of a human being, to penetrate into the evils of society, or to impart to it a fresh impulse. The less prosperous classes furnish the world with its reformers and martyrs. These, however, from imperfect culture, are apt to narrow themselves to one idea, to fasten their eyes on a single evil, to lose the balance of their minds, to kindle with a feverish enthusiasm. Let such remember, that no man should take on himself the office of a reformer, whose zeal in a particular cause is not tempered by extensive sympathies and universal love.—This is a high standard, but not too high for men who have started from the great principle of your association. They, who found their efforts against oppression on every man's near relation to God, on every man's participation of a moral and immortal nature, cannot, without singular inconsistency, grow fierce against the many in their zeal for a few. From a body, founded on such a principle, ought to come forth more enlightened friends of the race, more enlarged philanthropists, than have yet been trained. Guard from dishonor the divine truth, which you have espoused as your creed and your rule. Show forth its celestial purity in your freedom from unworthy passions. Prove it to be from God, by serene trust in his Providence,—by fearless obedience of his will,—by imitating his impartial justice and his universal love.

I now close this long letter. I have spoken more freely, because I shall probably be prevented by various and pressing objects, from communicating with you again. In your great and holy purpose, you have my sympathies and best wishes.—I implore for you the guidance and blessing of God. I am, my friends, ever, your sincere friend, WM. E. CHANNING.

I find in your writings a mode of executing severity of language, which I think unbecoming. You justify yourselves by the strong rebukes uttered by Jesus Christ. But Christ must be followed cautiously here. Was he not a prophet? Was he not guided by a wisdom greater than his own? Had he not an insight into the hearts and characters of men, which gave a character to his severer judgments? Shall the Christian speak with the authority of his Lord? Nor is this all. Jesus could reprove severely, without the dangers which beset all human reproof. His whole spirit was love. There was not a prejudice or passion in his breast to darken or distort his judgment. He could not err on the side of harshness. Are we so secured? Jesus could say of himself, "I am meek and lowly in heart." So unbounded was his generosity and candor, that, in the agonies of death, he prayed for the enemies who had nailed him to the cross, and urged in their behalf the only extenuation which their crime would admit. Such a being might safely trust himself to the most excited feelings. His consciousness of perfect love to his worst foes, assured him against injustice. How different was rebuke from the lips of Jesus, from that which breaks from ours! Had we been present, when he said, "Alas for you, Pharisees, hypocrites!" we should have heard tones which breathed the purest philanthropy. We should have seen a countenance on which the dwelling divinity had impressed a celestial glow. How different were these rebukes from the harsh tones and hard looks of man! Christ's denunciations had for their groundwork, if I may so speak, a character of perfect benignity, sweetness, forgiveness; and they were in harmony with this. They were scattered through a life which was spent in spreading blessings with the munificence of a God. You justify your severity by Christ's. Let your spirit be as gentle, your lives as beneficent as his, and I will promise to be contented with your severest rebukes.

Having expressed my disapprobation and fears, I feel that it is right to close this letter with expressing the deep interest I feel in you, not as an association, but as men pledged to the use of all lawful means for the subversion of slavery. There is but one test by which individuals or parties can be judged, and that is, whether they are for or against the cause of the oppressed.

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